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PHILO OF ALEXANDRIA.

IV.

PREFACE.

SINCE this is the fourth article of the series in which I have endeavoured to present in English dress some of the writings of Philo Judaeus, I take leave to ask for criticisms of my methods and achievement.

Hitherto I have pruned much of the exuberance of my author. I had found in him the most intelligible exponent of Judaism, as it was at the beginning of the current era, when I turned from the study of the "Classics" to that of "Theology." His Judaism is not so obviously an unaided development of the religion of the Old Testament as that—let me say—of Saul of Tarsus. But the discrepancy is mainly, if not entirely, superficial; and the Greek language even when spoken with Philo's greater fluency is welcome to the *Graeculus esuriens* who must seek in Talmud and Midrashim for other lamps to light his investigations. And even the bilingual, and therefore impartial student of New Testament exegesis will probably admit that Philo is a guide for his studies, only less indispensable than the Rabbis of Palestine and Babylon.

Approaching him from this point of view I ventured to omit what seemed superfluous, but with increasing reluctance and diffidence. I published my essays because I learned that the Greek, which attracted me, was apt to repel some of those to whom Philo—despite Jerome—rightly belongs. In the course of publication I have been told that a certain interest has been shown in them, and also that if I would complete the work arrangements might be made to translate it into German.

Because of the diffidence which I have felt, especially when I revised my material and collated it with the original, I have translated as literally as possible the greater part of the tracts which are here presented. So far as I can judge this method of treatment is better than the other in some respects. For one thing, it is easier to translate than to compress. But I am concerned to induce my readers to study this great Jewish philosopher. They know better than I which method is more likely to further this object.

I regret that pressure of other work has prevented me from adding explanatory notes and an index such as I contemplate. But to use the words of an older translator, who also made a personal explanation, "I have bestowed some diligence and travail to interpret these books. Wherefore let me intreat you to read them with favour and intention and to pardon me wherein I may seem to come short of some words, which I have laboured to interpret."

CONCERNING REPENTANCE¹.

175 BEING lover of virtue, lover of goodness, and exceedingly **p.405 M**
a lover of man, the most holy Moses urgeth all men everywhere to be zealots for piety and righteousness. Great prizes, as to conquerors, he offers to them that repent—fellowship in the best commonwealth, and enjoyment of its advantages whether little or great.

176 Now in the case of bodies the chief good is perfect health; in the case of ships it is a good voyage free from danger; in the case of souls the unforgetting memory of things worthy to be remembered. Second are the boons which consist in rectification, the recovery from diseases, and the desired safety after the perils of sailing,

¹ The numbers of Mangey's pages are given in heavy type in the outer margins, those of Cohn and Wendland's sections in the inner margins.

and the recollection which issues from forgetfulness, whose brother and close kinsman is repentance. Thus repentance is not reckoned in the first and highest rank of boons, but wins the second prize in the lower rank.

For not to sin at all is peculiar to God, and perhaps 177 also to a godlike man; but for a sinner to convert¹ to a blameless life is the part of a wise man, who is not completely ignorant of what is expedient. Wherefore Moses 178 summons and collects such penitents. He initiates them into his mystery and puts before them conciliatory and loving instructions. He exhorts them to practise sincerity, and to put from them vainglory; and to cling to truth and humility (*ἀνυψίας*) as essentials and causes of happiness, and to depart from mythical fictions, which from earliest youth parents and nurses and tutors and innumerable other associates have engraved upon their yet tender souls, producing endless error concerning the knowledge of the Best.

Now what but God could be the Best of things that are? 179 His honours they assigned to them which are not gods. Them they revered immoderately: him they forget altogether in the emptiness of their minds. All, therefore, who have resolved to honour the Creator and Father of the universe, though they did not so from the beginning, but only afterwards welcomed the Monarchy instead of the p. 406 M Polyarchy, must be regarded as friends and kinsfolk. For they display that love of God which is the most important condition of friendship and familiarity. We must rejoice with them as with men who, though once they were blind, yet have recovered sight, from deepest darkness beholding the most brilliant light.

So much for the first, and the most necessary part of 180 repentance. But a man must repent not only in respect of the deception which led him to admire created things before the uncreated Maker, but also in the matter of the other things which are necessary to the conduct of life. He

¹ μεταβαλεῖν.

must go over, as it were, from the worst of ill polities, misgovernments, Ochlocracy, to the best-ordered government, Democracy; from unlearning, that is, to knowledge of things of which ignorance is disgraceful; from folly to wisdom; from incontinence to continence; from unrighteousness to righteousness; from cowardice to boldness.

- 181 For it is altogether right and expedient to desert to Virtue without turning back, and to abandon Vice, that treacherous mistress.

Honour of the true God must be followed by participation in the other virtues, as a body by its shadow in the sunlight.

- 182 For straightway Proselytes¹ become sober, continent, modest, gentle, kind, philanthropic, reverent, righteous, high-minded, lovers of truth, superior to wealth and pleasure. On the other hand, you may see that those who revolt from the holy laws are intemperate, shameless, unrighteous, irreverent, small-minded, quarrelsome, comrades of lying and perjury; because they have sold their freedom for meat and strong drink and cakes and beauty, with a view to the enjoyments of the belly and the baser lusts, whose wages are most grievous punishments of body and soul.

- 183 However, Moses offers noble instructions which lead to repentance, whereby we are taught to readjust our way of life out of discord to the better alternative. For he says that this thing is not a burden that cannot be borne nor yet far removed—not in the sky above and in the extremities of the great sea, so that one cannot receive it, but is most near, dwelling in the three parts of us, mouth and heart and hands, which symbolize words and counsels and actions². For mouth is a symbol of words, and heart of counsels, and hands of actions; and in all
184 these is happiness. For whenever speech agrees with thought, and action with counsel, the life is praiseworthy and perfect; but when these are at strife together, then

¹ οἱ ἐπηλύται.

² Deut. xxxii. 14.

it is incomplete and blameworthy. Unless a man forget this harmony he will be well-pleasing to God; for he is at once God's lover and beloved.

p. 407 M Wherefore well and agreeably to what has been said, that oracle was given: *Choose God to-day to be God to thee, and the Lord hath chosen thee to-day to become a People for him*¹. Yea, right good is the recompense of the choice. 185 Man hastens to worship that which IS: God without delay hastens to appropriate the suppliant², and to anticipate the will of him that genuinely and sincerely goes to his worship.

Now he that is true worshipper and suppliant, though he be but one man in number, is in power all the people, inasmuch as he *chooses*, having become equivalent to an whole nation. And it is natural that it should 186 be so. In a ship the steersman counterbalances all the sailors, and in an army the general all the soldiers—at least, if he be destroyed defeat ensues, just as if all the force of fighting-men were captured. So in the same way also the wise man rivals the worth of an whole nation, being fenced by an impregnable wall—the fear of God.

CONCERNING NOBILITY.

p. 437 M Wherefore also we must censure in no measured terms 187 those who hymn nobility as a chief good and cause of great boons, if first they suppose the descendants of families old in wealth and reputation to be noble, although not even the ancestors, from whom they boast to have come, enjoyed happiness by reason of their unbounded superfluities. The true good resides in no external conditions, nay not even in the state of the body nor yet in any part of the soul, but only in the Mind³.

For God, wishing for his gentleness and philanthropy 188 to establish this also among us, found no worthier

¹ Deut. xxvi. 17 b.

² ἐξοικειοῦσθαι τὸν ἰκέτην.

³ τῷ ἡγεμονικῷ: ruling principle.

temple on earth than Reason. It alone in virtue of its superiority enshrines the Good, though some of those who have not tasted wisdom, or tasted it only with the tips of their lips, are incredulous. For silver and gold, honours and offices, bodily health and beauty, are like those p.438 M appointed in Empires over various needs for the service of Queen Virtue. Such unbelievers have never seen the most brilliant light.

- 189 Since, then, nobility is the peculiar lot of a mind cleansed by perfect purifications, only the temperate and righteous must be called noble, though they come of slaves bred or bought. To the evil children of good parents the field of
- 190 nobility is impassable. For the evil man has no home, no city—driven forth from the country of Virtue, which in very deed is the country of wise men. Low birth of necessity follows him, though he come of good parents or ancestors who were unexceptionable in their lives; for he practises alienation and severs himself utterly from nobility
- 191 both in word and deeds. But enough. Not only are the evil not noble, but I see them all to be implacable enemies to nobility, destroying their ancestral reputation and obscuring and extinguishing whatever was bright in the race.
- 192 Wherefore most affectionate fathers seem to me to make renunciations of such sons, debarring them from home and kindred whenever the knavery that is in them prevails over the abundant and excessive goodwill which nature has implanted in their parents.
- 193 But the truth of the matter may readily be discerned from other considerations also. What advantage would the quick vision of ancestors be to the sight of one who was blind? Is a tongue-tied man enabled to express himself by the fact that parents or grandparents had been loud speakers? What does it profit toward vigour the man who is skeletonized after a long and wasting disease, if the founders of the race were inscribed for athletic prowess among the Olympian victors at Olympia or in all the Games? For none the less the troubles of the body remain :

it is all one; they do not admit of amendment because of the great achievements of the men of their house.

In just the same way righteous parents are no profit to ¹⁹⁴ the unrighteous, nor temperate to intemperate, nor, in a word, good to evil. For neither are the laws of any avail to the law-breakers whom they punish; and the lives of them that were zealous for virtue are in some sort unwritten laws.

Wherefore I think that Nobility, if God formed her into a human shape, would stand and say to such rebellious offspring:—"Kinship is not measured by blood alone, if Truth be judge, but by likeness of actions and pursuit of the same ends. But ye have practised the opposite, reckon-
p. 439 M ing my friends foes and my enemies friends. For in my sight modesty and truth, moderation and humility and innocence are honourable, in yours dishonourable. Shamelessness, lying, indulgence of the passions, vanity, vices, are my enemies: they are your familiar friends. Why, ¹⁹⁶ having practised alienation in deeds, do ye put on a noble name and pretend to a kinship which is only in word? Quibbles and bedizened deceits I cannot abide. It is easy even for the ordinary man to find fair-seeming words, but to change evil manners for good is not easy. Looking to this I count as foes now, and again will so consider, those who have fanned the hidden fires of enmity, and I shall suspect them more than those who are reproached for lowliness of birth. Their defence is that they had no ¹⁹⁷ gentility belonging to them; but ye who spring from great houses lie under sentence, ye whose boast and fame are your glorious families; for though archetypal virtues have been set up before you, and are innate in a manner in you, you have not taken thought to take the impression of any good trait."

Now that Moses places nobility in the acquisition of virtue ¹⁹⁸ and regarded the possessor thereof as alone noble, and not whosoever comes of well-bred parents, is plain from many indications.

199 Take the first example. Who would not say that those who sprang from the Earth-born were aristocrats and the ancestors of aristocrats? Their birth was distinguished beyond that of those who came later; for they grew from the first nuptials of man and woman, then first come together for common intercourse with a view to the begetting of their like. Nevertheless, two being born, the elder had the heart to slay the younger by guile, and having accom-
 200 plished the greatest pollution of fratricide, he first stained the earth with human blood. What benefit did nobility confer on him who thus displayed the low birth residing in his soul. God, who surveys human affairs, saw it and loathed the sight, drove him forth and decreed punishments, not slaying him out of hand, but hanging over him thousands of deaths in feeling by griefs and incessant fears, with a view to the apprehension of most painful evils.

201 Now there was among the later persons of repute a most holy man whose piety the lawgiver (*ὁ τοὺς νόμους διατάξας*) thought worthy to be recorded in the sacred books. In the great deluge, when cities were disappearing in utter destruction—for even the highest hills were being con-
 p.440 M
 sumed by the increase and stress of the raging tide—he alone with his household is saved, winning the prize of nobility, than which a greater cannot be found.

But even in his case one of the three sons born to him, who had enjoyed together the gift bestowed upon their father, dared to rail against the father to whom he owed his safety, bringing laughter and mockery for an unintentional slip, and exposing to the unaware what should be hidden to the shame of his begetter. He then had no good of his glorious nobility, becoming accursed and source of ill fortune to those who came after him. Such is the deserts of him that neglected the honour of parents.

203 But why is it fitting to remember these, forsaking the first man, the Earth-born. He is comparable to no mortal

for nobility, who was fashioned with divine hands into a statue of bodily form with perfection of plastic art. With soul he was endowed by none moreover of those who had come into being; for God breathed in of his own power as much as mortal nature could receive. Was not this a superabundance of nobility which cannot come into comparison with any other which has been described? Their fame was derived from their ancestors' good fortune ²⁰⁴—and their ancestors were men, perishable, corruptible beings, whose prosperity was for the most part uncertain and ephemeral—but his father was no mortal, but the eternal God, whose image he became in some sort in respect of the ²⁰⁵ Ruler mind in his soul. He ought to have kept the image undefiled, following so far as he could the virtues of his begetter. But when the opposites were set before him for choice and avoidance—good and bad, honourable and shameful, true and false—the false and shameful and bad he chose eagerly, and of the good and honourable and true he took no heed. And thereupon reasonably enough he received life mortal for immortal, fell from blessedness and happiness, and easily changed into a laborious and unhappy life.

But whereas these stood as warnings common to all ²⁰⁶ men that they who lack nobility should not pride themselves on great birth, the Jews have other outstanding examples apart from these. For of the founders of the race there are some whom the virtues of their ancestors benefited not at all; who are detected in blameworthy **p. 441 M** and guilty actions and convicted, if by no other, then by conscience, the court of justice which alone of all is not perverted by arts of words.

Many children had he who first begat children by three ²⁰⁷ women, not for the enjoyment of pleasure but for hope of increasing the race. But out of many one only was declared heir of the paternal goods: the rest all missed a sound mind, and reproducing none of the qualities of the begetter were dispersed, alienated from the famous nobility.

- 208 Again, of the approved heir two twins are born presenting
no resemblance in body or disposition. For the younger
was submissive to both his parents, and so well-pleasing
as to get God to praise him. But the elder was dis-
obedient and without control of the pleasures of the belly
and what comes thereafter, whereby he was persuaded to
resign the birthright to his successor, and immediately to
repent that he had resigned it and to plot murder against
his brother, and to practise no conduct that would not
209 grieve his parents. So then to the one they assign the
highest prayers, God confirming them all and having decided
to leave none incomplete: whereas to the other they grant
in mercy the rank of subject that he should serve his brother,
thinking what is the fact, that lack of freedom is good for
210 the evil. And if he had endured this servitude gladly he
would have been adjudged the second prize as in the games
of virtue; but as it is, having waxed obstinate and absconded
from the goodly guardianship, he became the cause of great
reproaches both to himself and his descendants, so that his
life, which was no life to lead, has been inscribed for clearest
proof that nobility nothing avails those who are unworthy
of nobility.
- 211 These, then, belong to the blameworthy order, whom as
from good they became evil their fathers' virtues profited
nothing, whereas the vices in the soul harmed them in
myriad ways. But I could mention others arranged in
the better order on the opposite side, whose ancestors were
guilty whereas their life is enviable and full of good report.
- 212 Of the nation of the Jews the eldest was a Chaldaean by
race, the son of an astronomer, one of those who spend
their time with the sciences, who think the stars gods and p.442 M
the whole heaven and earth too, according to whom good
and bad happen to individuals, supposing there to be no
213 cause outside perceptible things. Now what could be
harder than this—rather to refute the lack of nobility in
the soul which by means of knowledge of the many and
secondary and created things proceeds to lack of knowledge

of the one and eldest and uncreated and Maker of the whole, who is also Best for these reasons and for thousands of others which for greatness human reason contains not? Of this he got an idea and, being divinely inspired, ²¹⁴ leaves fatherland and generation and paternal home, knowing that if he remain the deceits of the polytheistic opinion will remain in him, making ineffectual the discovery of the One who is eternal alone and Father of the whole, intelligible and perceptible; but that if he should remove the deceit also will remove from the intellect as it changes the false opinion into truth. But at the same time also oracles were ²¹⁵ delivered which helped to quicken the yearning with which he yearned to get the knowledge of that which IS; whereby being guided he went upon the search for the One with untarrying eagerness. And he did not refrain before he got clearer conceptions, not of the Essence—for that is impossible—but of its existence and providence.

Wherefore also he is said first to believe God, since he ²¹⁶ first had an unwavering and firm conviction that there is one Cause, the Highest, and it provideth for the world and that which is therein. Having acquired faith, the surest of the virtues, he acquired therewith all the others also, so as to be esteemed a king by those who entertained him, not for his caparison—for he was a private person—but for the greatness of his soul, being of a kingly mind. And indeed they continued courting him as subjects a ruler, ²¹⁷ being amazed at the complete greatness of his nature, which was more perfect than according to man. For neither did he use the same conversations *as they did*, but, being divinely inspired, for the most part more reverend forms. At any rate, when he was possessed he changed everything to the better, sights, colour, size, postures, movements, voice; the divine spirit, which breathed down from above, dwelt in **p. 443 M** his soul, surrounding his body with peculiar beauty, his words with persuasion, and the hearers with understanding.

Wouldst thou not call this emigrant who was destitute ²¹⁸ of all household and friends most noble? He aimed at

kindred with God, and was eager with every device to become his disciple (*γνώριμον αὐτῷ γένεσθαι*), and was ranked in the best rank which is among prophets, yet believed none of created things before the uncreated and Father of all. He was reckoned king, as I said, among those who entertained him, not by weapons nor forces of soldiery, as the manner of some is, getting the sovranity, but by the appointment (*χειροτονία*) of God, who loveth virtue and endoweth (*γεραίροντος*) the lovers of virtue with autocratic powers for the benefit of those that meet with them.

²¹⁹ He is a canon of piety to all proselytes who forsake the lack of nobility which comes of strange laws and unlawful customs, which assigned divine rights to stones and wood and in a word lifeless things, and take the goodly departure to the polity, which is really ensouled and living, whose watcher and overseer is Truth.

²²⁰ This nobility, not only God-loving men, but also women, have desired. Women have unlearned their life-long ignorance concerning the honour of things made with hands, and have been schooled in the knowledge concerning Monarchy, whereby the world is governed by one Lord¹.

²²¹ Tamar was a woman of those who came from Syria, nurtured in house and city polytheistic and full of wooden images and of statues and, in a word, of idols (*ἀφιδρυμάτων*). But since as it were out of deep darkness she was able to see a small ray of truth, at risk of death she deserted to piety, recking little of life if she were not to live nobly. And this "nobly" she attributed to nothing else than the worship and supplication of the One
²²² Cause. And yet having been married to two brethren, both evil in turn, to the former when a stripling, to the latter according to the law of provision of heirs (*ἐπιδικασία*) since the former left no generation; nevertheless, having kept her own life throughout spotless, she prevailed to obtain the good repute which befits the good and to become the occasion of nobility to all who came after her.

¹ περὶ μοναρχίας ἥ μοναρχεῖται ὁ κόσμος.

But she, though an alien, was at any rate a free woman ²²³ and perhaps no mean person. But there are serving-maids born of those beyond Euphrates in the uttermost parts of p. 444 M Babylon, who were given as dowry to their mistresses (*ταῖς τροφίμας*) upon marriage. These were judged worthy to pass to the bed of a wise man, and so first passed from concubines (*ἐκ παλλακίδων*) to the name and position of wives, and instead of handmaidens were placed by them in little less than equal honour with their mistresses—which was most incredible—being escorted to the same rank. For envy doth not make its home in the souls of sages; and, where it is absent, they share alike in good ²²⁴ things. The bastard sons of these women were not distinguished from the true-born sons, not merely in the view of the begetter—for no wonder, if to them that are not of the same womb their common father offer the same affection—but even in the view of the step-mothers. For they, destroying the hatred towards step-sons, changed ²²⁵ over to an unspeakable affection (*κηδεμονίαν*); and the step-sons on their part with a reciprocal goodwill, honoured their step-mothers as mothers by nature, and, half-brothers as they were, decided not to love each other half-heartedly, but having increased and doubled the emotion of loving and being loved in return, even that which seemed a deficiency they filled up, showing eagerness to run together with those who were born of both parents with a view to harmony and union of manners.

226

What communication then should we hold with those who put on nobility, as an actor his mask and parade another's goodness as their own? Justly might they be reckoned enemies both of the nation of the Jews and of all men everywhere. They are enemies of the Nation because they give their fellow-tribesmen holiday to belittle an healthy and firm life with confidence in the virtue of their ancestors. They are enemies of mankind, because (on their showing) though men attain to the very summit of excellence it will profit them nought because they have not unexceptionable

227 parents and ancestors. Than which I do not know if there be any more harmful doctrine, if avenging justice shall not follow the wicked children of the good nor honour attend the good children of the wicked. The law appraises each man by himself and does not praise or punish in respect of the virtues or vices of his kinsfolk.

CONCERNING CURSES.

The tract *concerning curses* is one which does not need a full translation. The former part deals with the ills which befall apostates; and the list of diseases of which it mainly consists is only valuable to those students who are interested in the ancient history of the science of medicine. The latter part, on the other hand, is concerned with the Restoration, upon which the mind of the philosopher *semota a nostris rebus seiunctaque longe* rarely condescends.

- 127 The first and lightest curse inscribed is poverty or famine. p. 429 M
The corn, it says, *while it is unripe they shall lay waste, and when it is perfected, foes shall suddenly come out and reap it*, effecting a double mischance, famine for friends, for
 128 enemies abundance. If enemies are quiet, locusts shall harvest out your cornlands: worms shall gather your grapes: oil and fatness shall drain away from your olives.
 130 Other mischances also shall wait in ambush to create want and scarcity. As it says, "*I will make the heaven for you brass and the earth iron.*" Where did iron make grain? or brass bring rain? And the figures speak of
 133 war. Populous clans shall be desolated, the cities shall be p. 430 M
 suddenly empty of inhabitants, being left as memorials of ancient prosperity and present misfortune for the admonition of those who can be brought to reason.
 134 Such a lack of the necessities of life shall there be that men will turn cannibals. Even in their misfortunes a passionate love of living shall be implanted in them, though

they live only to participate in measureless and incurable evils. Such is the result of poverty when it comes as the instrument of divine vengeance.

- p. 431 **M** They who disregard the sacred laws shall have invincible ¹³⁷ enemies for their masters. They shall be accursed in cities and villages, in houses and habitations. Accursed shall be the cornland and the trees of the mountains. No trade shall prosper; all arts, businesses, and forms of livelihood shall nothing avail those that follow them. The hopes
- p. 432 **M** of the eager shall come to nought because of their evil practices, the head and end whereof is desertion of God's service; for these things are the wages of impiety and lawlessness.

Diseases shall consume every limb and part of their ¹⁴³ bodies. Enemies shall make pursuit and the sword shall require vengeance. They shall flee to the cities; and, when they think to have reached safety, gulled by hope's deceit, they shall perish to a man, falling into the ambuscades of their enemies.

- And if so they be not brought to reason, if still they ¹⁴⁸ walk crookedly and avoid the straight ways that lead to
- p. 433 **M** truth, terror and fear shall be implanted in their souls. They shall flee when no man pursueth. Yet shall they not escape. There remain the natural enemies of mankind, the fierce beasts, which of themselves are well armed, whom God along with the first creation of the universe fashioned, to fright men who could be admonished, and for the inevitable punishment of the incurable.

In the morning they shall pray for evening, and in the evening for morning.

The proselyte borne aloft in prosperity shall be gazed ¹⁵² upon, admired, and counted happy in that he deserted to God and in that he received as his proper privilege that sure rank in heaven of which it is not lawful to speak. But the Aristocrat who debased the coinage of his nobility shall be dragged down to Tartarus itself, that all men seeing it may be brought to a right mind, learning that

God greeteth the virtue that springs from mean birth, neglecting the roots, and receiving the grown trunk because it was tamed and changed to fruitfulness.

153 So when the cities have been consumed as by fire, and the country made desolate, the land that hath often been chastened and tortured by the unbearable violence of its inhabitants shall begin to have a breathing-space and to raise its head. She shall rid her of the burden of impious inhabitants, who denied her and themselves the legal rest of the seventh year. So shall she be lightened. And p. 434 M when looking round about her she beholds none of them that destroyed her greatness and her fame, but when she sees her market-places empty of confusions and wars and crimes, and full of quietness and peace and righteousness; then shall she bloom and blossom and rest for the festal seasons of the sacred sevenths, gathering strength like an athlete after the struggle.

158 Then, like a loving mother, she will have pity upon the sons and daughters whom she rejected, who, dead and still more living, were a grief to their parents. Grown young again, she shall conceive and bear a blameless generation to right the first. *For the desert*, as the prophet saith, *hath fair children and hath many sons*—which oracle is an p. 435 M

159 allegory, having reference also to the soul. For when it is many, full of passions and vices, children, as it were, being poured around it, pleasures, lusts, folly, incontinency, unrighteousness, it is weak and ailing and, being sick, is at point to die. But, being bereft and orphaned thereof, or even having rejected the lot, is changed into a chaste
160 maiden, and, receiving the divine seed, fashioneth and giveth life to natures one might fight for, wondrous beauties, prudence, courage, temperance, righteousness, holiness, piety, the other virtues and good emotions, whereof not only the happy birth is a good, but also the expectation of the birth cheering the weakness with hope.

161 Now hope is joy before joy: though it be lacking com-

pared with perfect joy, yet is it better than that which follows, in that it easeth the squalor of the cares and softeneth it, and in that it anticipates that which shall be and it bringeth good tidings of full good.

These then are the curses and punishments which they deserve to endure who despise the holy laws of righteousness and piety, whose end is atheism. They forget the kindred and paternal doctrine, in which from first youth they were instructed the nature of the one to reckon the Most High to be God, to whom alone must be appropriated those who pursue after unfeigned truth instead of fictitious feigned myths. All these, withholding nothing I have shown. If, however, they receive the powers not for ¹⁶³ destruction more than admonition, and, being put to shame, change whole-souledly, reviling themselves for the error, telling out and confessing their sins with intellect purified, first to the truth and sincerity of conscience, then also with tongue for the betterment of hearers, they shall win the favour of the saviour and gracious God who offers to the race of men this peculiar and greatest gift, kinship to his Word, from which, as from an archetype, the human mind has come into being. For though they be in the uttermost ¹⁶⁴ parts of the earth as slaves among the enemies who carry them away captive, as at one signal on one day all shall be freed, the collective change to virtue working amazement in their masters. For they shall let them go, being ashamed to rule superiors.

But when they obtain this unexpected freedom, they who ¹⁶⁵ a little before were scattered in Greece and barbarian lands, **p. 436 M** over islands and continents, rising with one impulse, shall strain together, some from here, some from there, to one the appointed place, escorted by a vision diviner than human nature, not manifest to the rest, but apparent only to those who are being saved (*τοῖς ἀνασωζομένοις*), having found ¹⁶⁶ three Paracletes of reconciliations with the Father, one the courtesy and kindness of him on whom they called (*τοῦ παρακαλουμένου*), who ever sets pardon before punishment;

and second, the holiness of the founders of the race, because with souls set free from bodies, showing worship unfeigned and naked towards the Ruler, they are not wont to offer fruitless supplications on behalf of sons and daughters, the Father offering them as privilege the hearing of their prayers
 167 (τὸ ἐπήκουσεν ἐν εὐχαίς); and the third, wherefore most of all the favour of those mentioned runneth forward to meet them, and this is the betterment of those who are led to truces and conventions, who hardly were able to come out of a no-way into a way whose end is none other than to be well-pleasing to God as sons to father.

168 And when they be come, those that were ruins a little before shall be made cities, and the desert shall be inhabited and the barrened land shall change to fruitfulness. The prosperities of fathers and forbears shall be accounted a small part because of the ungrudging abundances of those at hand, which, flowing as from eternal, ever-flowing fountains, the graces of God shall win deep wealth for each privately and for all in common, surpassing envy.

169 But the change of all things shall be suddenly. For God shall turn the curses against the enemies of the repentant, who had pleasure in the ill-farings of the Nation, reviling and mocking them as though they themselves should have an indestructible lot of good fortune, which they hoped to leave to children and grandchildren in succession, and should always look upon their antagonists in sure and unswerving ill-fortune, which should be stored
 170 up also for following generations, understanding not in their frenzy that they enjoyed that lost brightness not for their own sake, but for that of the admonition of others. And for those others who had dissolved their ancestral rights, a saving remedy was found, even grief as they sorrowed over the good things of their unfriends.

Weeping therefore and groaning at their reverses, they shall retrace their steps towards the ancient good fortune of their fathers, starting their course anew since it happened
 171 not to them to reach the end of their voyage. But they

who laughed at their lamentations, and decreed to hold as public feasts their unlucky days (τὰς αποφραδας αὐτῶν) and made merry over their mournings; and, in a word, were
 p. 437 **M** happy in the unhappiness of others, when they begin to receive the wages of their cruelty shall perceive that they sinned not against obscure and neglected folk, but against Eupatrids having sparks of nobility, from whom being fanned there shone forth the fair flame that a little before was quenched. For as when the branches are lopped off, ¹⁷² yet the roots are not destroyed, new shoots grow by which the old trees' trunks renew their vigour; in the same way also in souls, if the smallest seed of those that make for virtue be left, though the rest be cut off, none the less from that small seed there grow the most honourable and fairest of human qualities, by reason whereof well-inhabited cities are housed and nations advance to populousness.

CONCERNING MIGRATION.

p. 436 **M** 1. *And Jehovah said to Abraham: "Depart from thy land, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, into the land which I will show thee, and I will make thee a great nation, and I will bless thee and magnify thy name, and thou shalt be blessed. And I will bless them that bless thee, and them that curse thee I will curse, and all the tribes of the earth shall be blessed in thee."*

Being minded to cleanse man's soul, God first offers it, as ² opportunity (ἀφορμήν) for complete salvation, removal from three regions of body, sense-perception, and uttered speech, which are symbolized by *land*, *kindred*, and *father's house*. For the body is composed of *land* ¹ (or earth): perception ³ is the irrational *kinsman* of the mind, and speech is the
 p. 437 **M** *house* of the mind, which is our *father*, just as the Logos of God is said to be his house ², comprehended only by soul as soul. What else could this be of which the Ascetic formed ⁵ an idea but the Logos, which is older than the material

¹ Cf. Gen. iii. 19.

² Gen. xxviii. 17.

creation, whereof, as of a rudder, the steersman of the universe taketh hold to guide all things, which he used as an instrument when he was fashioning the world for the blameless constitution of the results.

- 7 But the word *depart from these* is not equivalent to "be unyoked in respect of essence," for that would be death; but it means, be alienated in mind, stand above them all, held by none: they are thy subjects, treat them not as
8 governors. King thou art; be schooled to rule, not to be ruled; through all thy life know thyself, as also Moses teaches, saying, Take heed to thyself. Depart then from that prison, the body, and the lusts and pleasures, thy gaolers.
12 Depart from the sphere of senses, which draw you to what they love; enjoy thine own, not other's goods. Remove p. 438 M from the uttered word, lest thou be deceived by the beauties of words and names, and separated from the true beauty which is in the things indicated thereby.

Expression (*ἐμπνεῖα*) is like a shadow and an imitation; but the natures of the things expressed are like bodies and archetypes. These he must hold who aims at reality more than semblance.

- 13 So the sage is introduced as saying, "Separate thyself from me," that is, Lot the perceptible; since he who is possessed by the love of the bodiless and incorruptible cannot dwell with him who tends towards the perceptible
14 and mortal. Right well then did the Hierophant inscribe one whole Sacred Book of the Law-giving the Leading Out of all the people of the soul from the country of Egypt, the
15 body. They might lament and weep bitterly for the bodily comfort and the bountiful abundance of external things, for it is said that the children of Israel lamented from the works¹; but God had given directions for the
16 Exodus, and so his Prophet rescues them. But some made terms with the body till the end, and were buried therein as in a coffin. Their bones were thus delivered to oblivion, but any offshoot love of virtue is preserved.

¹ Exod. ii. 23.

At least the bones of Joseph—I mean the only relics¹⁷ of so great a soul which were incorruptible and worthy of remembrance—the sacred Word claims, reckoning it impossible that clean should be yoked with unclean.

p. 439 M Its memorable parts were these:—the belief that *God*¹⁸ will oversee the seeing race (Gen. l. 24), and not deliver them entirely to ignorance, that blind mistress; the discrimination between the mortal and incorruptible parts of the soul; the relinquishment of all that is concerned with the pleasures of the body and all immoderation of the passions to Egypt; the truce-making in the matter of the incorruptible, that with them that go up to the cities of virtue it might be conveyed; and the affirmation of the truce with an oath.

What, then, are the incorruptible parts? The alienation¹⁹ towards pleasure, which says, “*Let us lie together*¹ and enjoy the good things of men” and presence of mind with fortitude, whereby he discerns and discriminates the reputed good things of vain opinions as dreams². He was enrolled,²⁰ not as subject, but as ruler of all Egypt³, the bodily country. He boasted that he is of the race of Hebrews⁴, whose wont is to pass from things of sense to things of mind. He prided himself that *here he did nothing*⁷. He mocked²¹ at immoderation of lusts and all passions. He feared God, even if he has not yet become capable of love⁵. He acquired the true life in Egypt⁶. He confessed that it is²² of God (Gen. l. 19). He was made known to his brethren—shook and repelled perforce the minds that loved the body and thought to stand firmly upon their own dogmas (Gen. xlv. 1 f.). He said he was not sent by man, but appointed by God (Gen. xlv. 7 f.) for the lawful presidency over the body and external things. He could not endure

¹ συνεννασθῶμεν. Cf. Gen. xxxix. 7 ἡ γυνὴ . . . εἶπεν Κοιμήθητι μετ’ ἐμοῦ.

² Gen. xl. 8.

³ Gen. xli. 41.

⁴ Gen. xl. 15.

⁵ Gen. xlii. 18.

⁶ Gen. xlv. 28. The seer is naturally amazed at this. “A great thing for me if still my son Joseph lives.”

to dwell in Egypt, nor to be buried in a coffin at all, following the lead of Moses.

p. 440 M

25 For Moses urges very strongly that men should leave her who is styled mother of all that is monstrous without delay or tarrying; *with haste*, he says, *they must sacrifice the Passover*, that is, the Passing over¹, in order that with undivided purpose and harmonious eagerness the mind may make its passage over from the passions without a backward look and its thanksgiving to God the Saviour who brought it out into unexpected liberty. If it cannot resist, it must abscond; for flight is the second road to safety.

27 Wherefore this oracle hath been spoken: *Return to thy father's house, and to thy generation, and I will be with thee*². Thou hast become a perfect athlete, it would say, and hast been awarded the prizes and crowns. Virtue set the lists and offered thee the prizes of victory. Give thine ambition rest, that thou labour not for ever, but
28 enjoy the fruits of thy labours. This thou wilt never find if thou abide here, dwelling still with things of sense and living in bodily qualities, whose lord is Laban, Quality.

Thou must be a migrant to the fatherland which belongs to the sacred word, and in a manner to the Ascetes of the Father. And this is wisdom, the best abode of
29 souls that love virtue. In this country thou shalt find the self-learning, self-taught race, that shares not youthful and milky food, that was prevented by a divine oracle from going down into Egypt³, and from meeting with the enticing pleasures of the flesh, Isaac by name.
30 Receiving his portion, thou shalt perforce put from thee toil, for the ungrudging supplies of goods ready and at hand bring about rest from toil. And the fountain from
p. 441 M which the good things come like rain, it is the company (*σύννοδος*) of God who loves to give; wherefore setting his seal to his benefits, he saith, *I will be with thee*.

31 What could be lacking when God is present with Graces, his virgin daughters? Cares and toils and prac-

¹ διέλασις.

² Gen. xxxi. 3.

³ Gen. xxvi. 2.

tices (ἀσκήσεις) cease, and there spring up without art, by Nature's forethought, all that is profitable for all. And ³² this flow (φορά) of spontaneous goods is called Release (ἄφεσις), since the mind is released from the activities which belong to its impressions.

I am not ashamed to relate my own experience, which ³⁴ I know that I have suffered ten thousand times. Wishing sometimes to come to the accustomed writing of philosophical dogmas, and knowing exactly what I must compose, I have found my mind fruitless and barren, and departed without achievement, reviling it for its presumption, and wondering at the power of that which is, to whom it belongs to open and to close the womb of the soul. And sometimes, coming empty, I became full ³⁵ suddenly: ideas were showered upon me like snow and sown invisibly from above, so that by a divine possession I played the Corybant, and was ignorant of all things, the place, those present, myself, what was said, what was written. For I gained a flood of interpretation ¹ an enjoyment of light, keen-sighted vision, a clear appreciation of the things as it might be by eyes of clearest showing.

That which is shown is that which is worthy of sight, ³⁶ contemplation, and passionate desire, the perfect good which is such as to sweeten the bitternesses of the soul, seasoning best of all sauces, whereby that which nourishes not becomes saving nourishment. For it is said, *Jehovah showed him a tree, and he cast it into the water* ², that is, the mind confused and flaccid and full of bitterness, that it might be sweetened and tamed.

But this tree promises not only nourishment, but also ³⁷ immortality; for the tree of life was planted, it says, in the midst of the garden, goodness guarded by the particular virtues and virtuous acts.

p. 442 M Now he that seeth is the wise man, for blind or dull ³⁸ of sight are the fools. Therefore also they used formerly

¹ Reading with Markland ἔσχον γὰρ ἐρμηνείας βεῦσιν for σχεδὸν γὰρ ἐρμηνεύει εὖρεσιν.

² Exod. xv. 25.

to call the prophets the Seers¹, and the Ascetic was eager
 39 to exchange ears for eyes. Jacob the *hearer*, coinage of
 Learning and Teaching, is recoined into the *seeing* Israel.
 As by every art the things that are in it are perceived,
 so also by wisdom that which is wise is contemplated.
 40 And wisdom is not only the instrument of sight, seeing
 like light, but also sees itself. It is God's archetypal
 light, whose image and copy is the sun.

41 And God recommends his wisdom not only because
 he fashioned the creation of the world, but also because
 the science of that which came into being was firmly
 42 fixed in him—for it is said, *God saw all that he made*—
 had knowledge and comprehension thereof, being thus the
 acknowledged source and fountain of all arts and sciences.

43 The time allotted to the promise is the future, not the
 present. Here is a testimony to the faith which the soul
 had in God: it shews forth its gratitude, not at results, but
 at expectation of things to come.

So also to Moses it says: *I showed it to thine eyes, and* p. 443 M
 45 *there thou shalt not enter*². Think not that this refers to
 the destruction of the perfect sage, as some of the incon-
 siderate suppose. It is stupid to think that the slaves
 receive their portion in the land of virtue before the friends
 46 of God. Rather Scripture wishes to prove to you that
 there is one place for babes, another for the mature. The
 fairest things are not possessed but seen, and that only
 by the purest race of men. For it is said, *All the people*
saw the voice, and again, *Ye have seen that from heaven*
*I have spoken unto you*³. This, though speech is as
 invisible as mind.

p. 444 M

53 Such is the acuteness of the vision of this people.
 Here, then, is the first gift which God grants to the
 soul, exhibition and contemplation of things immortal;
 and the second is progress, advance in number and

¹ 1 Kings ix. 9.² Deut. xxxiv. 4.³ Exod. xx. 18, 22. Cp. also Exod. i. 9, the testimony of Pharaoh. Cp. Deut. iv. 6 b.

greatness of the dogmas of virtue. For he says, *And I will make thee into a great nation*. The source of greatness and multitude of the good is the unhesitating memory of God, and the invocation of his alliance for the confused and continuous civil war of life. Only the wise and understanding people are worthy to receive such benefits. Only they can sustain the near approach of the great God without amazement. This is the definition of greatness. Mere numbers God repudiates¹; and even one wicked man is many by his vices; to rank oneself with him is greatest loss. Though thou be one, the Lord is with thee². His company destroyeth wars, restoreth peace, overturneth the many and familiar evils, saveth the scanty, God-beloved race, whose adherents hate and loathe the ranks of the more earthly³.

The doom pronounced on reptiles and the serpent befalls also the man who pursues the pleasure of the belly and anger which resides in the breast⁴. In Moses the rational part of the soul predominates⁵. Many footed and footless—polytheist and atheist—are excluded from the assembly under the guise of the eunuch and the son of adultery⁶. For the barren is an atheist, and polytheist the son of a harlot, blind as to the true father, and therefore superscribed with many parents instead of one.

The third gift is a blessing without which the former⁷⁰ graces cannot be guaranteed. For he says, *And I will bless, well-word, thee*: that is, I will bestow praiseworthy word; for the word *well* must refer to virtue, and the *word* is in⁷¹ one sense like a fountain, and in another like a stream, according as it is in the mind or uttered by mouth and tongue. That both forms of word should be bettered is wealth indeed. So the mind takes good account of all things, small and great: so the utterance is guided by right discipline. Some can think right well, but are betrayed⁷² by an ill interpreter because they have neglected elementary

¹ Deut. vii. 76.² Deut. xx. 1.³ Lev. xi. 42.⁴ Cp. Gen. iii. 14.⁵ Lev. viii. 21, 29.⁶ Deut. xxiii. 1 f.

education: others, like the Sophists, are capable interpreters, but wanting in intelligence. But God gives no imperfect gift to his subjects. His beneficiary can think aright and also express his thoughts with power.

74 Consider the case of Abel, the name of one who mourns over mortal things and accounts immortal things happy. His mind is unexceptionable; but because he is not trained in words he is worsted by Cain, the cunning wrestler, who is able to gain the victory by skill rather than strength. I blame him for accepting the challenge. He ought to have taken his stand upon his wonted tranquillity and declined the contest; or if he must needs enter the arena, he should have practised the arts of wrestling first. The subtle quibbles of a townsman are apt to prevail over the p.448 **M** wisdom of the boor.

76 Moses, on the other hand, takes Aaron with him, when he engages in conflict with the Egyptian Sophists. It is not for his own sake. From the time when God began to flash upon him the light of truth by means of the immortal words of Knowledge and Wisdom's self, he deprecates examination of things plausible and seeming-reasonable. None the less he is led to contemplate them. It is not for the purpose of becoming versed in more facts: the quest after God and his most sacred Powers suffices for the lover of contemplation. It is because he must get the better of the Egyptians, who esteem wordy plausibilities

77 above the clearness of the truth. So whenever the mind investigates the acts of the All-ruler it needs no other's help for the speculation, since Mind alone is the discerning eye of things intelligible. But whenever it investigates things belonging to sense, either passion or body, of which the land of Egypt is the symbol, then it will need also the skill and the power of words.

78 On this account Moses is directed to bring with him Aaron, the uttered word. *Lo*, it says, *is not Aaron thy brother?* For since the rational nature is the one mother of both, the offspring are brethren. *I know that he will*

speech : for to apprehend is the property of mind, to speak that of utterance. *He will speak*, it says, *for thee* : for the mind being unable to proclaim what is stored within it, uses its neighbour speech as interpreter for the explanation of its experiences. Then it adds, *Behold he shall come forth to meet thee* ; since in reality speech meets the thoughts, assigns words and names, and so stamps what was vague as to make it significant. And *seeing thee he shall rejoice in it*, for the thought is clear and distinct, and else speech walks on empty air. *And thou shalt say to him and give my words into his mouth* : meaning, Thou shalt suggest (ὑπηγήσεις) to him the thoughts which are not different from divine words ; for without the prompter (τοῦ ὑποβολέως) speech will not speak, and the prompter of speech is mind, as the prompter of mind is God.

And he shall speak for thee to the people, and he shall be 81
thy mouth, and thou shalt be to him the things that pertain
 p. 449 **M** *to God*. Speech is interpreter of mind to men, but mind becomes to speech the things pertaining to God, that is, thoughts of which only God is overseer. The charmers and 83
 wizards who pitted their sophistry against the Divine Word were not concerned to display their own knowledge, but to disparage and to ridicule what Moses did. Without Aaron 84
 he could not have met them. In another place Aaron will be called not mouth but prophet, when the mind being inspired is called God.

For I give thee, it says, *a God to Pharaoh, and Aaron thy brother shall be thy prophet*. O harmonious consequence ! For they who interpret the things of God are the race of prophets, who experience a divine possession and frenzy. Thus the rod of Aaron devoured their rods¹, as the 85
 oracle explains ; for all the sophistical words are devoured and destroyed by the skilled versatility of nature. They confess that what happens is *God's finger* ; and this is as much as to say that the divine scripture declares that sophistry is always worsted by wisdom. For by God's

¹ Exod. vii. 12.

finger the Sacred Word says the tables on which the oracles were engraved were written.

- 86 What then is the fourth gift? That of a great name. For it says, *I will magnify thy name*¹. As it is honourable to be good, so to appear good is profitable. Reality is better than appearance, but happiness is that which comes from both together. There are thousands who make an unfeigned and sincere approach to virtue, and reflect (*ἐναντασφόμενοι*) its genuine beauty, and yet, because they did not take thought of popular opinion, have been attacked and reputed evil—they who were truly good.
- 87 On the other hand, appearance is useless without reality: p. 450 M if all suppose the sick man is hale, or the hale man sick, the opinion in itself will not cause health or sickness. But
- 88 he to whom God has granted both to be good and to appear so, he is truly happy and really great of name. One must provide for fair fame as a great thing and highly beneficial to the bodily life. And it comes to almost all who are joyful and contented, disturb none of the established ordinances, but with every care observe their ancestral way of life.
- 89 There are some who suppose the letter of the laws to be the symbol of spiritual things, and have therefore elaborated some excessively and lightly neglected others. Such I should blame for their levity. They ought to have paid attention to both aspects—the more exact search for hidden
- 90 things and the blameless conservation of the obvious. But in point of fact, as if they were living by themselves alone in a desert, or had already become bodiless souls and knew neither city nor village nor house nor any company of men at all, they peer beyond the appearances which satisfy the many and seek for truth's naked self. But the Sacred Word teaches them to have a care for a good reputation (*χρηστῆς ὑπολήψεως*), and to loose none of the duties contained in the customs which men greater than those of our time decreed.
- 91 The seventh day is lesson of the power which belongs to

¹ Gen. xii. 2.

the Uncreated and of the inaction which is the duty of the creature. But we should not therefore so relax the Sabbath-laws as to light a fire, or till the ground, or carry burdens, or make accusations, or go to law, or demand deposits, or exact loans, or do anything else which is permitted on non-festal occasions.

The feast is a symbol of the soul's gladness and of⁹² thankfulness to God. But we should not abandon the assemblies at the seasons of the year.

The rite of circumcision signifies the excision of pleasure and all passions and the destruction of the impious opinion that the mind is competent to beget offspring of itself. But we should not therefore destroy the law laid down in the matter of circumcision.

We shall neglect the ritual of the temple and countless other laws if we attend only to their allegorical significance.

No, we must reckon the plain sense to be body and the⁹³
 p.451 M deeper sense to be soul. As we must care for the body, since it is the house of the soul; so we must regard the literal meaning of the laws. And if this be observed the other meaning which this symbolizes will be more clearly recognized, and we shall also escape the censures and accusations of the many.

Seest thou not that to Abraham the wise, it says, both⁹⁴ great boons and little accrue? The great it calls *property*, which only the lawful heir may inherit: the little are *gifts*, of which the bastards and sons of concubines are counted worthy. The former correspond to the ordinances of nature, the latter to laws of human making.

I admire also the virtuous Leah. At the birth of⁹⁵ Asher, who is symbol of material and bastard wealth, she says, *Blessed am I, for the women shall call me blessed*¹. It is a reasonable supposition to which she feels her way; for she claims to be praised not only by male and truly manly reasons, which hold in honour the unspotted nature and the uncorrupted truth, but also by the feminine,

¹ Gen. xxx. 13.

which are completely worsted by phenomena, and cannot
 96 understand any object of contemplation outside them. It
 is the mark of a perfect soul to claim both to be and to
 appear to be, and to strive not only to be approved in the
 men's apartment, but also to be praised by the hearth of
 the women's chamber.

97 And so Moses entrusted the preparation of the sacred
 work not only to men, but also to women. All the woven
 things of blue and purple and scarlet, and fine linen and
 goat's hair, the women perform, and their own ornaments.
 They contribute¹ without reluctance seal-rings, ear-rings,
 finger-rings, bracelets, combs, everything that had gold for
 its substance². They exchange bodily ornament for the
 98 ornament of piety³. More, in their zeal they actually
 dedicate their mirrors for the making of the laver, that
 the future priests⁴, when they washed hands and feet—the
 undertakings whereon the mind is moored and rests—
 might envisage themselves in memory of the mirrors of
 which the laver was fashioned. For so they will overlook
 no taint that comes in the form of the soul, but already
 they will offer up that fittest and most perfect of all offer-
 ings—fasting and endurance.

99 But these are citizens and truly good women among
 whom Virtue, Leah, would be honoured: those who light
 fresh fires against the wretched mind have no city; for it
 is said also that *women still burned fresh fire against*
 100 *Moab*⁵. But is not each of the senses of the fool enkindled **p. 452 M**
 by things of sense? Does it not burn the mind, pouring
 upon it an unending flame with irresistible force and
 sweep?

It is best, then, to placate the order of women in the
 soul—that is, the senses—as also the order of men—that is,
 the particular reasonings. For so we shall enjoy a better
 passage through life in all honour.

101 Therefore also the self-taught Isaac prays for the

¹ Exod. xxxv. 25 f.

² Exod. xxxv. 22.

³ 1 Pet. iii. 3 f.

⁴ Exod. xxxviii. 26.

⁵ Num. xxi. 30.

lover of wisdom that he may receive both things immaterial and material. *May God give thee*, he says, *of the dew of the heaven and of the fatness of the earth*¹. As who should say, First may he water thee continuously with the immaterial and heavenly rain, not fiercely so as to deluge thee, but quietly and gently like dew, so as to benefit thee. Then may he freely bestow the material and earthly wealth rich and fat, drawing off its opposite, poverty, from the soul and its parts.

If, however, thou examine also the high-priest Logos¹⁰² thou wilt find him in accord, and his sacred vestment variously compact of immaterial and material powers. The most of it needs longer words than suit the present occasion and must be deferred: but let us examine what is at the extremities, the head and feet². Well, upon the head¹⁰³ is *a pure golden crown, having the cutting of a seal, an holy thing for the LORD*³; and upon the feet at the end of the robe, bells and flowerets⁴.

That seal is the idea of ideas after which God fashioned (ἐτύπωσε) the world: it is bodiless and immaterial (νοητή). The flowerets and the bells are symbols of material qualities, of which sight and hearing are the criteria. With¹⁰⁴ great exactitude it adds, His voice shall be heard as he enters into the holy place⁵; in order that when the soul enters to the immaterial and divine and truly holy, the senses also being helped in respect of virtue may ring in accord, and all our frames, like a large and tuneful choir, may sing together one harmonious strain compounded of different voices. The thoughts inspire the key-notes⁶, for the objects of thought are leaders of this choir: what follows, the things of sense ring out together—they correspond to the particular groups of the choristers. For to sum up, as the law says, Of necessities and clothing and intercourse—these three—the soul must not be deprived⁷:

¹ Gen. xxvii. 28.

² βάσεων.

³ Exod. xxviii. 32.

⁴ Exod. xxviii. 29 f.

⁵ Exod. xxviii. 31.

⁶ τὰ ἐνδόσιμα.

⁷ Exod. xxi. 11 τὰ τρία ταῦτα.

each of them must be securely allotted to it. The necessities are intellectual goods: the clothing, whatever is connected with phenomenal universe of life: and the intercourse is the connexion of both.

106 Fifth is the gift which consists of bare existence: it p. 453 M is mentioned in addition to the former gifts, not as less valuable than they, but as transcending and surpassing them all. Surely this is perfection itself, to be by nature and in fact truly and unfeignedly good and worthy of blessing! For it says, *Thou shalt be blessed*—not merely *blest*, but *blessed*. Here is no question of popular opinion and rumour, but of fact and nature. To be praiseworthy—or blameworthy—is more than to be praised—or blamed. Though all men hold their peace, such a one is still blessed.

109 These are the prizes which are bestowed on him who shall become wise. Next let us see what things he assigns to the others for the wise man's sake. *I will bless*, it says, *them that bless thee, and them that curse thee I will curse*¹.

110 It is evident to any one that this is done in honour of the good man, but it is said not for that fact's sake alone, but also for the sake of the well-knit sequence in the facts. He that praises the good man deserves eulogy, and he that blames him is on the contrary blameable. But praise and blame are not substantiated by the power of those who say and write as by the truth of happenings. Neither praise nor blame can come from a liar. The lip-service of the flatterer is naught, though he compose and recite whole
113 dramas of eulogy. His praise is really blame. So Balaam does not bless but curse, in spite of his hymns to God, which contain that noble phrase *God is not as a man*, and his eulogies of the seer Israel. What he said God sug- p. 454 M gested: his thoughts were bred by his mind, which hated
115 virtue. The oracle concerning them testifies: *For God hath not granted to Balaam to curse thee, but hath turned the curses into blessing*². Though he spoke them fair, God

¹ Gen. xii. 3.

² Deut. xxiii. 5.

condemned him ; for he, the overseer of all that is stored in the soul, saw what is invisible to a creature. Words do not always reflect the mind. A man may be praiseworthy if with his voice he seem to speak evil and bring accusations and in mind praise and approve. This is the ¹¹⁶ wont of preceptors, pedagogues, teachers, parents, elders, rulers, and Laws. They reproach, and sometimes actually punish. But the effect is that the souls of their pupils are bettered. It is the deed of friends whose goodwill is genuine and unalloyed to speak freely without ill-will.

The promise, *In thee shall all the tribes of the earth* ¹¹⁸ *be blessed*, is most significant. For in truth the righteous man is the prop of the race of men. Whatever he has he ^{p. 455 M} contributes ungrudgingly to the common stock for the profit of all. Whatever he finds not in himself, he asks of God, who only is all-wealthy. And God opens the heavenly treasury and rains and snows upon them masses of benefits, so that the reservoirs of all the inhabitants of the earth are filled and overflow. To such a man God gives an irresistible power. It is said in another place, when Moses ¹²² prayed, *I am gracious to them according to thy word*. And this is equivalent (*ισοδυναμει*) to our text.

And so wise Abraham after his experience of God's goodness in all things believes that though all else be destroyed and only a small relic of virtue—like a spark—be preserved (*διασώζηται*), God has compassion on the rest for its sake. And, like a spark, the smallest fragment of ¹²³ virtue, when it is warmed by good hope and shines forth, gives eyes to the blind, makes the withered shoots spring up, and makes the barren fruitful. So the scanty good by God's providence becomes much, is poured abroad and assimilates the rest to itself.

Let us pray then that this pillar of the house—the ¹²⁴ mind in the soul, and in the race of men the righteous man—may remain for the healing of diseases. So this be healthy, we must not despair of hopes of complete salvation. For I suppose that God the Saviour extends the

soveran remedy, his gracious power, to the suppliant worshipper, and bids him use it for the salvation of the sick and salve the soul's wounds, which follies and unrighteousness and the herd of vices have dealt it as with a whetted knife.

125 The clearest example is Noah the righteous. When so many parts of the soul were swallowed up in the great deluge he rode the waves and swam stoutly till he stood above all the dangers, and being saved (*διασωθείς*) cast many fair roots from himself, whence like a plant sprang the race of wisdom.

p. 456 M

127 Next, it is said that *Abraham walked as God spake to him*¹. This is the end or object celebrated among the best philosophers, the life in accordance with nature. And it is achieved when the mind having entered upon the path of virtue walks in the track of right reason, and follows God, remembering his commandments, and confirming them all at all times and in all places by word and deed. As God speaks, so the good man does each several thing, directing blamelessly the path of his life, so that the deeds of the wise man differ nowise from the divine words.

130 Elsewhere it says, *Abraham has performed all my law*. Now the law is nothing else than a divine word enjoining what is right and forbidding what is wrong, as Scripture 131 testifies, saying, *He received from his words a law*². So then, to follow God is according to the holy Moses the end, as he says in other words, *After the Lord thy God thou shalt go*³. The phrase is, of course, an allegory of the conformity of the soul to the divine decrees.

132 And he counsels also the cleaving to him; for it says, *The Lord thy God thou shalt fear, and serve him, and cleave to him*⁴. What then is the cleaving? Piety and faith. For the virtues fit and unite the mind to the incorruptible 133 nature. He that neither faints nor tires in the race of life shall receive crowns and prizes when he comes to the goal;

¹ Gen. xii. 4.

² Deut. xxxiii. 3 f.

³ Deut. xiii. 4.

⁴ Deut. x. 20.

p. 457 M for he shall reach the ends of understanding. He shall¹³⁴ condemn the folly of himself and all creatures, and realize that he and they know nothing. For knowledge belongs to him who is only wise and only God¹. Only the Creator¹³⁵ can appreciate the universe. Begone, then, ye who are full¹³⁶ of vainglory and want of culture and much pretentiousness, you fancied sages who profess not only to know what each thing is, but also venture in your boldness to lay down the causes thereof, as if you had been present at the creation of the world and had advised its creator! Know yourselves.¹³⁷ Declare what is sight, and how you see. Search and know yourselves before you study astronomy.

Since this is so, the mind being perfected will repay¹³⁹ the tribute to God, who brings it², according to the sacred writing. For the law is that the tribute belongs to the Lord³. When, then, does it repay it? When it comes to the place which God said to him, on the third day⁴, passing over the mere portions of intervals of time, and already changing over to the timeless nature. For then he¹⁴⁰ will sacrifice even his beloved son—not a man, for the sage is no murderer of his own son, but the male child of the virtuous soul which it bare knowing not how. Which, when it appeared, its reputed mother expounds her ignorance, saying, *Who will announce to Abraham*, as incredulous, I suppose, about the dawn of the self-taught race, that

p. 458 M *Sarah is suckling a child?* Was it not suckled by Sarah? No, for the self-taught is nourished by none, but is the nourishment of others, being competent to teach and not needing to learn. *For I have borne a son*⁵, not like the¹⁴¹ Egyptian women, in the prime of life, but like the Hebrew souls, *in mine age*⁶, when all things material and mortal have withered, and things immaterial and immortal, which deserve privilege and honour, have blossomed. And I bare¹⁴² without aid of midwifery, for we bear even before men's

¹ Gen. i. 31.² ἀποδώσει τὸ τέλος τῷ τελεσφόρῳ θεῷ.³ Num. xxxi. 28 ff.⁴ Gen. xxii. 3.⁵ Exod. i. 19.⁶ Gen. xxi. 7.

thoughts and knowledge enter into us, without the wonted co-operators. God sows and begets the goodly fruits which are fittingly repaid to the giver in accordance with the law laid down for thanksgiving. This is the journey's end of those who follow words and commandments of the law and walk where God leads them.

J. H. A. HART.